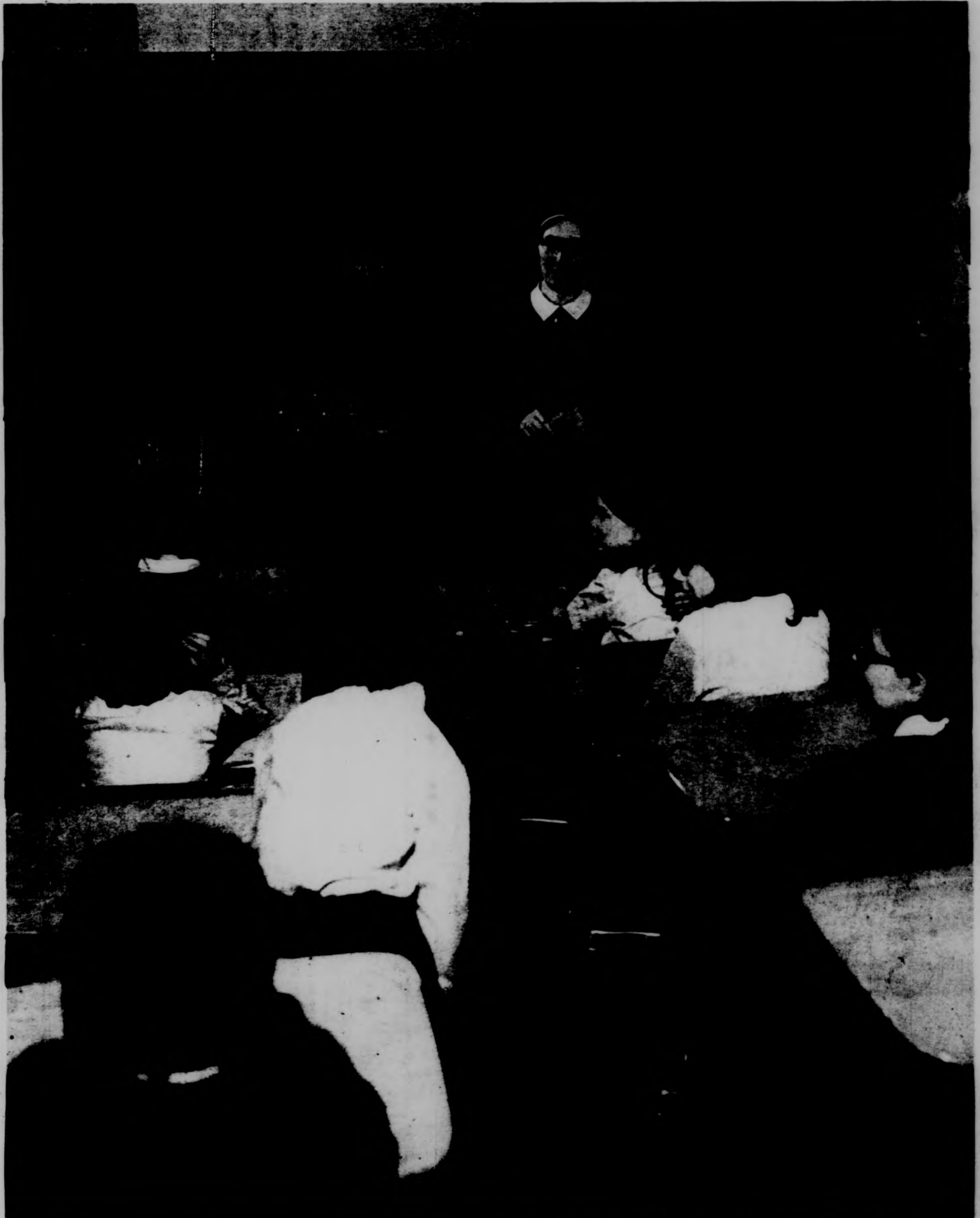


# COLLAGE

The State News BI-weekly Magazine

Thursday, February 29, 1968



The controversy over separation of church and state has been renewed. See story on page 3.

Photo by Bob Ivins

# Calendar of Events: Feb. 29-March 27



THURSDAY, FEB. 29  
 "In Harm's Way" (6:45 & 9:30, Brody)  
 "The Would-Be Gentleman" (8:00, Fairchild)  
 Fencing, MSU vs. Wayne  
 FRIDAY, MARCH 1  
 "The Fantastiks" (8:30, McDonel Kiva)  
 Bergman's "Smiles of a Summer Night"  
 "In Harm's Way" (6:45 & 9:30, Wilson)  
 Senior Recital, Diane Schumacher, pianist (8:15, Music Aud.)  
 African Film Series  
 "The Would-Be Gentleman" (8:00, Fairchild)  
 Record Concert (7:00, 114 Bessey)  
 Gymnastics, Big Ten Championships  
 "Sun, Stars and Seasons" (2:30 & 8, Abrams)

FRIDAY, MARCH 8  
 Fellini's "8 1/2" (7 & 9, 108 Wells)  
 "How Green Was My Valley" (7:00, 109 Anthony)  
 "Nevada Smith" (7 & 9, Wilson)  
 Don Cooper, "The Klondike" (8:00, Aud.)  
 Swimming, H.S. "B" Championships  
 "Sun, Stars and Seasons" (2:30 & 8, Abrams)  
 Commencement  
 "The Thief of Bagdad" and Andy Warhol's "Sampler" (7 & 9 respectively, Union Ballroom)  
 ROTC Commissioning  
 "Sun, Stars and Seasons" (2:30 & 4, Abrams)  
 MONDAY, MARCH 11  
 Early Registration Begins  
 Exams Begin

FRIDAY, MARCH 15  
 Early Registration Ends  
 "Sun, Stars and Seasons" (8:00, Abrams)  
 SATURDAY, MARCH 16  
 Last Day of Exams!  
 "Sun, Stars and Seasons" (2:30 & 8, Abrams)  
 SUNDAY, MARCH 17  
 St. Patrick's Day  
 "Sun, Stars and Seasons" (2:30 & 4, Abrams)  
 WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20  
 "The Odd Couple" (Lansing Civic Players, 8:30, West Jr. High, through March 23; for ticket information call IV 4-9115)  
 FRIDAY, MARCH 22  
 "Sun, Stars and Seasons" (8:00, Abrams)  
 Antique Show (Lansing Civic Center, through March 24)  
 SUNDAY, MARCH 24  
 Last Day, Art Exhibits  
 Student Printmakers and Ceramists (Kresge, 2-5:00)  
 Grand Ole Opry (Lansing Civic Center)  
 "Sun, Stars and Seasons" (2:30 & 4, Abrams)  
 MONDAY, MARCH 25  
 Registration Begins  
 WEDNESDAY, MARCH 27  
 Classes Begin

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 6  
 Stockholm Philharmonic Orchestra (8:15, Aud.)  
 THURSDAY, MARCH 7  
 "That Man From Rio" (7:30, Aud.)  
 "Nevada Smith" (7 & 9, Brody)  
 President's Reception for Seniors  
 Joseph Docksey and Louis Fletcher, "Music for Trumpets" (8:15, Music Aud.)  
 Marilyn Monroe in "The Love Goddesses" and "Some Like It Hot" (7 & 9 respectively, 109 Anthony)  
 Hospitaler Circus (Lansing Civic Center, through March 10)

SUNDAY, MARCH 3  
 "Petrified Forest" with Bogart and Davis (7:00, Union Ballroom)  
 Art Exhibit: Student Printmakers and Ceramists (Kresge, through March 24)  
 "The Would-Be Gentleman" (8:00, Fairchild)  
 State 4-H Leadermete Concert Band (4:00, Aud.)  
 "Sun, Stars and Seasons" (2:30 & 4, Abrams)  
 MONDAY, MARCH 4  
 Vocal Recital, Cynthia Parfitt, Soprano, and Dan Jackson, Baritone (8:15, Music Aud.)  
 TUESDAY, MARCH 5  
 Honors College Concert (8:15, Fairchild)

ABRAMS PLANE-TARIUM  
 SATURDAY, MARCH 2  
 Rudolph Valentino in "Son of the Sheik" and "Blood and Sand" (7 & 9 respectively, 109 Anthony)  
 "The Fantastiks" (8:30, McDonel Kiva)  
 "In Harm's Way" (6:45 & 9:30, Conrad)  
 "The Would-Be Gentleman" (8:00, Fairchild)  
 Basketball, MSU vs. Minnesota  
 H.S. Drama Day  
 Gymnastics, Big Ten Championships  
 State 4-H Leadermete  
 "Sun, Stars and Seasons" (2:30 & 8, Abrams)



## EDUCATION

# Bills spark hot controversy

By SUE BROWN

The introduction of virtually identical bills in the House and Senate, calling for the appropriation of state funds to aid parents of nonpublic school pupils, sparked what is expected to become the hottest controversy ever to confront the Michigan Legislature.

The bills renew the church-state controversy and many Michigan citizens are questioning whether they would break down the separation between church and state.

**Introduced in the legislature last week, the bills would authorize the state to grant \$50 annually to the parents of each child attending a nonpublic elementary school and \$100 to parents of each child in nonpublic secondary schools.**

In addition, it would provide for increased aid to parents of children attending nonpublic schools in the inner city areas, those areas which are economically and educationally deprived. The grants would be \$75 for each elementary school child and \$150 for each secondary school child.

Parents would be required to certify to the state education department that they spent at least the amount of the grant on their children's secular education. Schools also would be required to certify that the money was expended on secular education and that the child had attended the school.

The bill, costing an estimated \$21 million a year, would be administered by the State Board of Education. Chief sponsors of the bill in the House were Rep. Thomas Brown, R-Lansing, and J. Robert Traxler, D-Bay City. Sen. George S. Fitzgerald, D-Grosse Pointe Park, and six other Democrats offered the Senate version. All three men are attorneys. Brown and Fitzgerald are Catholics and Traxler is an Episcopalian.

Fitzgerald said a \$200,000 finance study by the State Department of Education indicated that Michigan nonpublic schools must be maintained. There are 333,000 children in Michigan's nonpublic schools, or one out of every seven school children. Traxler said, and without state aid many of them will be forced into the public school system within the next five years.

In the 1964-65 school year, there were 361,000 in nonpublic schools. This number dropped to 346,000 in 1966-67. Traxler said.

If all of the 330,000 nonpublic school children transferred to public schools the cost in state aid would be \$97 million and \$108 million in local taxes, annually, Traxler said.

In addition it would cost \$712 million to build and equip the facilities that would be needed to provide space for this many new public school children, excluding site acquisition and interest costs, he added.

**"By giving state aid to nonpublic schools," he said, "you might say there will be a \$205 million annual savings to the taxpayers of Michigan."**

Without state aid the cost squeeze of operating nonpublic schools is expected to continue and will force many more students into public school systems over the next five years, he said. Estimated additional cost to Michigan taxpayers for the decline in private school enrollment was placed at \$18 million this year, \$30 million in 1968-69, \$46 million in 1969-70, \$65 million in 1970-71 and \$90 million in 1971-72. Traxler said.

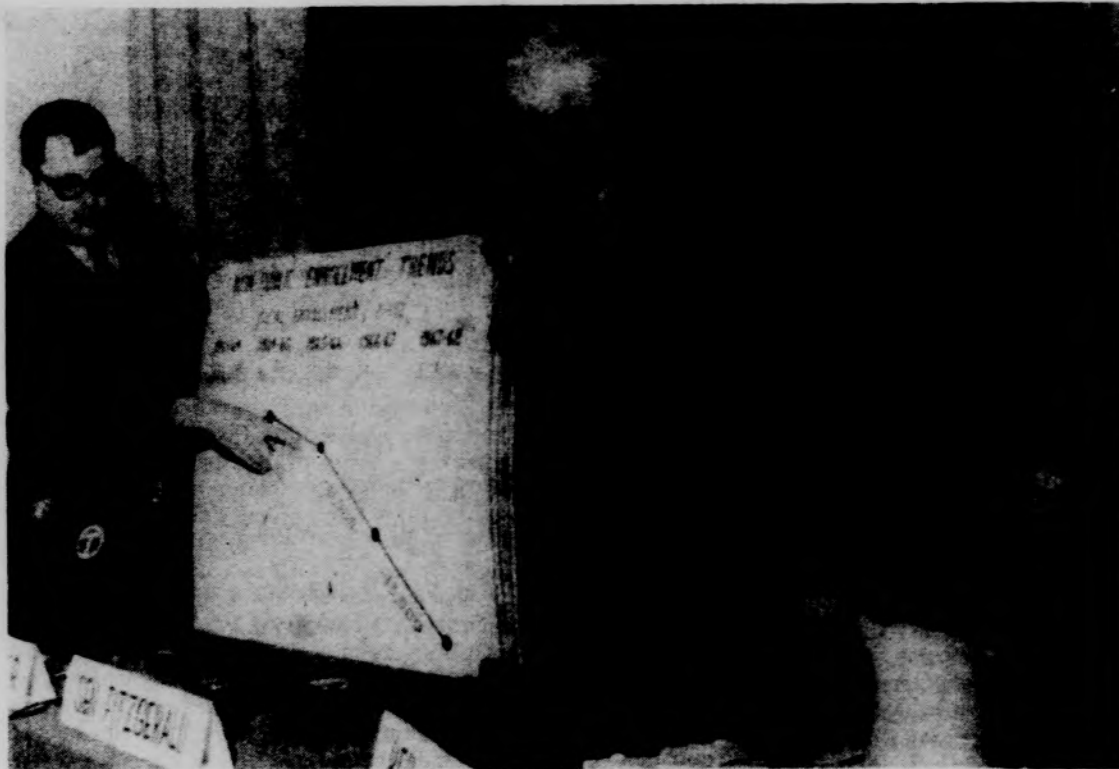
Brown, Fitzgerald and Traxler maintain that the measure would be held constitutional.

"This bill has been drafted very carefully to meet the rulings of the U.S. Supreme Court," Fitzgerald said.

"This would be like the G.I. Bill," Brown said. "That gives public money to an individual 18 years or older for tuition. This bill would give public money to a parent for school. The parent stands in approximately the same position as a veteran of the wars."

Traxler said four or five other states are currently considering legislation to make state aid available to nonpublic schools, including Rhode Island and Louisiana.

Previously, 48 of the 110 state representatives lined up to sign as sponsors of the bill.



Chief sponsors of the bills are (left to right) Rep. J. Bob Traxler, D-Bay City, Rep. Thomas

Brown, R-Lansing, and Sen. George S. Fitzgerald, D-Grosse Pointe Park.

But at the last minute the number fell to 43, leaving 13 short of the number required for passage in the House. In the Senate, the original 12 sponsors dropped to eight, 12 below the number needed for passage in that chamber.

**Gov. Romney told a news conference in Boston that he is opposed to direct state aid to nonpublic schools. He declined to take a position on the bills introduced in Michigan.**

Acting Gov. William Milliken currently has an attorney investigating the legal and constitutional aspects of the bill. "I am basically sympathetic to the idea of attempting, where we properly and appropriately can and financially are able, to assist where feasible and where possible," Milliken said.

Groups working for the passage of the bill, including the Committee for Education Freedom (CEF)—an organization of persons affiliated with various churches—point to the conclusions of the 1967 Michigan School Finance Study.

J. Alan Thomas, director of the study for the State Board of Education, listed the financial problems facing nonpublic schools as one of the major conclusions in a summary of his report.

The downward trend in nonpublic school enrollments in recent years, Thomas said, "has important financial implications" for both public and nonpublic education.

In more than one community across Michigan, nonpublic schools have been forced to close their doors or reduce the number of grades in their schools, mainly because of financial problems, he said in his report. Each closing or reduction increases the public school burden.

Declining enrollments and rising costs are the problems Michigan's nonpublic schools are having, the report said. Enrollments have declined by nearly 10 per cent during the last three years while the number of teachers in nonpublic schools has been increasing.

The major reason for the increase in the number of teachers is the effort to improve the quality of programs in nonpublic schools, the report said. Teacher salaries also have been increased in recent years.

**The report stated that the two major reasons for the tremendous increase in instructional costs in nonpublic schools are the desire of nonpublic schools to pay competitive salaries and the increase in the number of**

**lay teachers in Catholic schools. Lay teachers make up 44 per cent of all teachers in Catholic schools today, the report said.**

"It would seem," the Finance Study said, "to be a broad and legitimate public purpose to conserve the scarce educational resources, human and material, represented in Michigan's nonpublic schools, for these schools perform a function that would otherwise have to be provided entirely at public expense."

"It would be extremely costly to replace the materials, facilities, and personnel of the nonpublic schools, especially in metropolitan areas where they serve more than 20 per cent of the student population, as in Bay City, Grand Rapids, Saginaw and Detroit," the Finance Study reported.

The CEF said it believes the true value of nonpublic schools to the total community cannot be measured by dollars alone. The nearly 1,000 Michigan nonpublic schools in addition to providing a foundation in moral values guidance, they said, provide parents with a choice of educational systems, assist parents in meeting state compulsory education law, and produce needed teachers, doctors, social workers, lawyers and skilled workers to service the entire community. In short, they said, nonpublic schools exist ultimately to serve the needs of the total citizens, both financially and socially.

The CEF also points to the report of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce Task Force on Economic Growth and Opportunity. This report, published last year, recommended that the government finance the education of all children regardless of whether they attend a public or nonpublic school.

Members of the Task Force from Michigan included Harry B. Cunningham of Detroit, president of the S.S. Kresge Co.; H.D. Doan of Midland, president of the Dow Chemical Co.; Roy R. Eppert of Detroit, president of Burroughs Corp.; and Malcolm P. Ferguson of Detroit, president of the Bendix Corp.

**The Task Force urged the three levels of government to consider legislation providing financial support for nonpublic schools "up to the amount of the average expenditure per pupil in local public schools," the CEF said.**

It recommended government financing of nonpublic schools, the Task Force said, because public schools need competition if they are to improve.

(continued on page 12)



# American intervention . . .

By LAWRENCE H. BATTISTINI  
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Even before the Geneva conference was convened, it was realized by many elements in the U.S. Government that Bao Dai had become an almost total liability and that if South Vietnam was to be "saved" some new figure would have to be found around whom the anti-Communist groups of South Vietnam might rally. Finding that man was not easy, for the truth was that in 1954 about everyone who enjoyed real prestige among the people had been associated with the Vietminh struggle for independence. The ubiquitous CIA, however, soon believed it had found the man—Ngo Dinh Diem, a militant anti-Communist Catholic.

At the time of the Geneva conference, Ngo Dinh Diem was not a popular hero, certainly not one to be even remotely compared with Ho Chi Minh, whose name had practically become a household word throughout all of Vietnam, the South as well as the North. Diem's career up to the time of the Geneva conference had by no means been outstanding in the cause of Vietnamese independence, although he had expressed disapproval of the French colonial domination. Certainly he had not made any great sacrifices or really risked life and fortune for the independence cause, and he had played no part at all in the long, bitter and costly military struggle against the French.

During the Japanese occupation of Indochina he had sought and obtained the protection of the Kempeitai, the Japanese secret police, allegedly for protection from possible arrest by the French authorities. While Diem enjoyed this protection, Ho Chi Minh was fighting the Japanese. From 1950 to 1953, years of bitter Vietminh struggle against the French, Diem was in the United States where he was chaperoned around by "interested" parties and endorsed by a number of respected American leaders, including Cardinal Spellman and some prominent liberals. An effort was made to "sell" him to President Eisenhower as the man who would offer "an independent nationalist alternative" to Ho Chi Minh. It appears that by the time Diem left the United States, his selection as the man Washington would support in Vietnam was practically assured.

On June 18, 1954, Diem announced that he had accepted an invitation from Bao Dai, the head of state, to become Premier of the so-called Associate State of South Vietnam (South Vietnam). He took up his duties in this capacity on July 7, about two weeks before the Geneva accords were concluded. No doubt encouraged by certain U.S. elements, Diem seemed determined to do all he could to wreck the Geneva conference. It was for good reasons that immediately after his appointment as Premier, Mendes-France, the head of the French government, told Walter Bedell Smith that the only request he wished to make of the United States was that it use its influence to prevent Diem "from needlessly obstructing any honorable truce which the French might make with the Vietminh."

As Premier, Diem demanded, and was granted, complete military as well as full civil authority. He promptly set himself to the task of building up his personal power and prestige, undermining the position of Bao Dai, and eliminating remaining French influence.

To facilitate his personal ambitions he organized an activist group known as the National Revolutionary Movement, which in actuality was a Fascist-type organization. On October 23, 1955, he staged a hastily prepared referendum whereby the voters would choose between a monarchy and a republic. In a sense the real choice up to the "voters" was Diem or Bao Dai. In the election returns the republic received 98.2 per cent of the votes cast, while the monarchy received only 1.1 per cent of the votes cast. However, less than 15 per cent of those allowed to vote participated in the referendum. Actually this was the first of a series of fraudulent and deceptive "elections," staged primarily to appeal to American public opinion and to establish a semblance of legitimacy. A republic was then proclaimed and Diem was "chosen" President, a position he retained for eight years until his assassination in November 1963. His powers, as he exercised them, were absolute and dictatorial.

The militant anti-Communism of Diem and his family, which came to share power with him, appealed strongly to Washington and fitted in neatly with the anti-Communist obsession which morbidly dominated U.S. foreign policy. In October 1954 President Eisenhower in effect "anointed" him in a letter which pledged the practically unconditional support of the United States Government. Eisenhower stipulated that in return for the aid which would be made available to his government the United States expected him to undertake "needed reforms."

With the assurance of support, financial as well as political, from the powerful United States, Diem confidently went about consolidating his iron control over the country. A flood of some 860,000 refugees from North Vietnam, more than 500,000 of whom were Roman Catholics motivated by strong fears of Communism which U.S. "activists" played a part in inflaming, helped to strengthen Diem's base of support. Generous financial support extended by Catholic organizations and the U.S. Government for the relief of these refugees redounded to the political advantage of Diem.

Despite the support of the United States, the prospects did not look too bright for Diem at the beginning. Ho Chi Minh was still regarded by most of the peasants, who made up at least 70 per cent of the population, as the great "national hero" and liberator of the country from foreign domination. Moreover, considerable numbers of South Vietnamese, who had not fled or been compelled to go North, remained Communists or pro-Communists and were active in the villages. In addition, Diem had to deal with several formidable armed groups, such as the Binh Xuyen and two reformist Buddhist sects, the Cao Dai and the Hoa Hao, all of which challenged his authority.

Diem's first major hurdle, however, involved overcoming the opposition of General Nguyen Van Hinh, the chief of staff, who commanded the loyalty of the army and was pro-French in his sentiments. Although General Hinh could easily have deposed Diem, he dared not make the attempt, for, as a former American technical adviser in South Vietnam has written, "the United States had come to the Premier's aid." This is a subtle way of saying that Diem was Washington's



anointed one and that the United States intended to keep him in power.

Just where the United States stood with regard to Premier Diem is deducible from a very influential report made by Sen. Mike Mansfield in Washington on October 13, 1954, which recommended that if the Diem government fell, "the United States should consider an immediate suspension of all aid to Vietnam and the French forces there." As is well known by students of the subject, the suspension of aid, or the threat to suspend it, has often been used by the United States to "save" governments from an internal threat or to bend them to its will. The next month General J. Lawton Collins, Eisenhower's special ambassador, announced in Saigon that the United States had no interest whatsoever in "training or otherwise aiding a Vietnamese army that does not give complete and implicit obedience to its premier." In fact, General Hinh was bluntly warned by General Collins that if Diem were deposed the United States would immediately cut off aid. Hinh clearly understood the "signals." Two days later he left the country to go into exile in France. Diem was now in undisputed control of the army.

Early in 1955 Diem turned his attention to the armed groups which were defying him. However, when Diem dispatched troops into the rural areas, which were followed by landlords demanding payment of back rents from the peasants and the return of their privileges, many of the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao fled into the jungles to continue their resistance. The peasants, who had been benefitting from the rural land reform carried out by the Vietminh, resented the loss of their benefits which resulted from the return of the hated, exploitative landlordism. However, with U.S. assistance Diem was able at this time to suppress all the armed groups. The Binh Xuyen were crushed in October 1955, the Cao Dai in January 1956, and the Hoa Hao in April 1956.

With these military successes, according to Philippe Devillers, the Diem regime, "haunted by a strange desire to bring back into being the society of former days, when there were no sects and no Communists, and reckoning that it would itself be safe in the future," ruthlessly stepped up its authoritarianism and repression. This seems to have been encouraged, wrote Devillers, "by certain American 'activist elements' who were alarmed by the number of Communist cells and the areas of support which they continued to have in the rural areas."

With the de facto inclusion of South Vietnam in the American anti-Communist military perimeter in the Far East, it followed that a massive purge of every remaining vestige of Communism in South Vietnam was in order. Encouraged, supported, and even advised, by the U.S. Government, Diem in 1957

(continued on page 5)



Lawrence H. Battistini, professor of social science at MSU was educated at Brown University and Trinity College. He received his Ph.D. at Yale, specializing in U.S.-Asian affairs, he is the author of six books in this area. His experience includes four years as professor of history at Sophia University in Tokyo; extensive travel in Europe and Asia; and service as an intelligence officer during World War II.

In the past three issues Collage has presented articles by Professor Battistini dealing with the history and psychology of the Vietnamese people. Beginning his study as far back as 400 B.C., he has traced the historical roots that have flowered in the current war. One more article will follow this fourth one. In it, Professor Battistini will give his evaluation of our presence in Vietnam.



# backing of Ngo Dinh Diem



(continued from page 4)

launched a series of veritable manhunts which literally ferreted out everyone suspected of Communism or pro-Communism as well as known Communists.

The police forces were greatly increased in personnel and, making extensive use of informers, employed the most brutal methods. Although the police drive was allegedly aimed only against Communists, all who in any way opposed or disagreed with the regime became its targets, including democrats, socialists, liberals, and adherents of the sects. By 1958 the massive police drive against dissenters reached its height and was characterized by the most pitiless tactics. According to Devillers: "A certain sequence of events became classical: denunciations, encirclement of villages, searchings and raids, arrests of suspects, plundering, interrogations enlivened sometimes by torture (even of innocent people), deportations and 'regroupings' of populations suspected of intelligence with the rebels."

The Communists, hunted down like wild animals, began to fight back and to return brutality for brutality. Informers, village chiefs who had presided over the denunciations, and others implicated in the manhunt were sought out and executed when caught. As Devillers has put it, 1958 was the year Diem went too far. Peasants and others who could stand no more of the brutal manhunt began giving assistance to the Communists and the sects, and increasing numbers of them began deserting the villages to take up arms. But the ferocity of the manhunt did not diminish in the least, and the longer it continued and the more brutal it became, the greater became the dimensions of the armed resistance. At the end of March 1959 Diem candidly admitted that "at the present time Vietnam is a nation at war." The peasants were now largely lost as a support for the Saigon regime. So were increasing numbers of other elements, especially the intellectuals.

On February 5, 1955, the North Vietnamese Government proposed (in accordance with the terms of the Geneva accords) the normalization of relations between the North and the South with regard to mail, highways, railways, air and sea traffic, and indicated its desire to cooperate immediately for this end. The proposal was flatly rejected by Diem with the full support and encouragement of the United States. North Vietnam repeated this proposal several times, but in every instance was either ignored or indignantly rebuffed. In justifying his position, Diem declared that the North Vietnamese proposal had no other objective than to infiltrate agents and propaganda into the South. Actually north and south Vietnam were economically complementary and necessary to each other, for the French had developed Vietnam as a single economic unit. Moreover tens of thousands of families had been cruelly separated as a result of the terms of the Geneva accords.

The Geneva proposals for political reunification through national elections also failed to

be implemented. The first deadline fixed at Geneva was for July 1955, when a consultative conference was to be held between representatives of the two Vietnamese governments. On June 6, 1955, North Vietnam warned that it expected the Geneva agreement on the elections to be respected. It declared its determination "to continue to implement loyally the Geneva agreements," and stated that it was prepared to hold the consultative conference on July 20 to discuss the organization of free general elections throughout the entire country. It reminded the Diem government that "Vietnam and the Vietnamese nation constitute a single entity from all points of view: history, geography, culture, language, habits, and customs." This initiative also received a cold, negative response. The Diem government justified its refusal on the ground that the northern regime was totalitarian, and that there was an absence of guarantees.

On July 16, 1955, Premier Diem categorically declared that "we did not sign the Geneva agreements" and therefore "we are not bound in any way by those agreements, signed against the will of the Vietnamese people." He professed to believe that "although elections constitute one of the bases of true democracy, they will be meaningful only on the condition that they are absolutely free." (Yet free elections were something that were and remained totally unknown in his own state, which was a police state by anybody's definition.) The North Vietnamese Government protested to the co-sponsors of the Geneva conference (Britain and the Soviet Union), but to no avail. It was perfectly clear that the Diem government, with full U.S. backing, would not consent to the holding of elections under any conditions. The actual reason was that Diem and his U.S. backers knew that he would lose, and lose badly.

North Vietnam, as has been stressed, had counted on France guaranteeing compliance with the terms of the Geneva agreements in South Vietnam. It was also anticipated that all the big powers which subscribed to the agreements would use their influence to see they were carried out. It soon became clear, however, that France, the only big power in a position to enforce compliance with the agreements in the South because it alone had military forces there, intended to withdraw its forces earlier than had been anticipated. The North Vietnamese Government in vain protested: "It is with you, the French, that we signed the Geneva agreements, and it is up to you to see that they are respected." France,

however, withdrew all its remaining military forces at the end of April 1956, three months before the deadline for the scheduled elections. Actually France had long before been replaced by the United States as the real power in South Vietnam.

North Vietnam still clung to the expectation that the elections would be held. In May and June 1956 North Vietnam repeated its proposal for a consultative conference and negotiations to establish procedures for "free elections by secret ballot." Even after the deadline fixed by the Geneva agreements had passed, North Vietnam continued to propose a consultative conference and negotiations for the election. Proposals to this end were repeated in June, 1957, in March, 1959, in July, 1959, and even as late as June, 1960. Each time the response of the Diem government was either silence or a stinging rejection. Actually if Washington had thrown its support for the holding of the elections, they could very well have been staged on an equitable basis—certainly on a much fairer basis than any elections staged by Diem himself. The simple fact was that Washington had long before made up its mind that elections as prescribed by the Geneva agreements would never be held as long as there was a likelihood of their resulting in a Communist victory.

With the withdrawal of the French from South Vietnam, the United States literally stepped in with both feet and by its actions and with its purse made it crystal clear that it intended one way or another to control the direction of events in South Vietnam. What it wanted in South Vietnam was primarily a strongly armed, militantly anti-Communist regime. Secondly, it desired a regime that would carry out some reforms to broaden its base of support and take on an aura of legitimacy. It also hoped that the regime would establish such institutions and political processes that, on the surface at least, it would look like a "free" state. The United States further hoped that, thanks to the small population of South Vietnam and the vast resources of the United States, South Vietnam might be developed into a kind of "showcase" of the so-called "free world" in Southeast Asia.

Since Diem was the anointed one of Washington, all-out support, aid, and "technical advice" were extended to establish and consolidate his undisputed power. Once he seemed to have been firmly placed in the saddle, extravagant efforts employing the cleverest Madison Avenue techniques were made to build him up in the minds of Americans as a figure of heroic stature: "a democratic strong man," a "defender of freedom," a "great patriot," and above all, "the great anti-Communist fighter of Southeast Asia." This was done by means of laudatory statements from respected American leaders, and in more subtle ways through influencing the press.

In February 1955 Lt. Gen. John W. O'Daniel, chief of the U.S. military mission in Saigon, took charge of the training and or-

## Correction

In the February 15 issue of Collage in the third installment of the Battistini series, page five, column three, the figure "\$14,169,280,000" should have read "\$4,169,280,000."

(continued on page 8)



BOOKMARKS

# Religion—and how to deal with it

By DAVID GILBERT

**"Treat Me Cool, Lord"** by Carl F. Burke  
Association Press, 1968 \$1.75  
Paramount News

**"How To Become A Bishop Without Being Religious,"** by Charles Merrill Smith  
Pocket Books, 1966 50c  
Paramount News

**"Are You Running With Me, Jesus?"**  
by Malcolm Boyd  
Avon Library, 1967 75c  
Campus Books

This week is a triple whammy, consisting of three books dealing with religion, and how to deal with it. I started with Carl Burke's *Treat Me Cool, Lord*, as I was very much impressed by his earlier volume of prayers by kids from city streets as spoken in their own language. *God Is For Real, Man*. There is a reality about the prayers which pulls you up short out of a middle-class, go-to-Church-on-Sunday complacency. I also picked up Charles Smith's *How To Become A Bishop*, which is one of the deadliest, most subtle attacks on Sunday Christians and their ministers that I have ever encountered. In addition, I procured a copy of Malcolm Boyd's prayers, an attempt by a minister to find a prayerbook with meaning for today's people. Boyd succeeds, not just through the use of a new jargon, which was part of the problem with the death-of-God people, but through the application of the new morality, the new times, expressed in modern language.

O.K., so what?  
Well, some time back, it occurred to me that the entire death-of-God issue was merely a manifestation of the frustration many ministers and theologians felt in attempting, and failing to communicate adequately with their congregations. The word "God" had no meaning for them, it signified no particular set of concepts for them, and, worst of all, "God" seemed to provide no kick, have no effect on their parishioners. Baloney. As Smith indicates in his *How To Become A Bishop*, half the impact of most religious symbols—"God," the Cross, stained-glass windows, hymns—is based on nostalgic association:

Nothing evokes feelings of nostalgia in faithful Christian churchgoers like a hymn they learned in Sunday School, or sang frequently in the dear little church of their childhood surrounded by family and friends blasting away with them . . . an avalanche of other reveries all mixed together into an emotional omelet which is incredibly tasty to the spirit and providing rich nourishment for the soul.

The real cause of frustration was (and is) that in this world of increased social awareness, ministers rapidly became alarmed that their congregations not only were not particularly aware, but did not even think it incumbent upon them to be aware of social problems. And if they were aware of them, few felt it necessary to commit themselves to any alleviation of social ills beyond the drafting of a resolution or two. Smith analyzes one of the reasons for this poor response, which lies in what people expect from their Church:

The old pros of the pulpit know that they should always aim to do three things for and to the customers (congregation) in every sermon:

1. Make them laugh
2. Make them cry
3. Make them feel religious.

What your good Christian people want to worship is not God but themselves, although they do not know this . . .

People wish to be told that what they are doing and getting out of life is good, justifiable and acceptable in the eyes of God, or the community. Most people do need to be reinforced in their values. There is a vague, uneasy feeling produced by the injunction of Jesus to "take up his cross and walk in My footsteps." Crosses are heavy and hard to bear.

Obviously, as Smith criticized, and as Malcolm Boyd and Carl Burke realized, there is little to be done in the majority of churches today. People go to Church for a variety of purposes, one of which is rarely the out-and-out devotion of themselves to God. Very few people, except those with shaky self-concepts



and saints (whom I do not care to analyze) are concerned with God when they pray.

As Chaplain of Erie County Jail, in Buffalo, N.Y., Burke began to work with young kids who had very few illusions to keep up. Once you're in jail, nobody is impressed by what you used to be. Burke asked his kids to express themselves on what they felt about God in the way they felt it.

God --  
I'm scared  
I feel funny  
On my insides  
I wish you was here.  
Maybe if I could help somebody  
I'd feel better on the insides  
Just doing one good thing  
For a change --  
Help me do it, God.

Some of the kids Burke works with are no more than eight years old, others are over twenty.

All feel clearly the hypocrisy that Smith lambasted:

Dear God --  
Why do religious people  
Always know they  
Are so right  
When they don't give  
Us a chance to talk?

and yet they are vastly more Christian:  
People tell us you will forgive us.  
We don't worry about you doing it,  
God, but what about people  
like cops, and teachers,  
And caseworkers and preachers.  
Don't they s'pose to do it too?  
So we hope you'll help them too.

A psalm full of "thee's and 'thou's means nothing to such kids. When asked to respond to the Commandment, "Honor thy father and mother," one of the kids said, "Are you kidding?" Sure, it's humorous, but these kids are deadly serious: the Commandment that most of us accept so blithely is ridiculous to a kid whose father spends most of his time on drunks, and whose mother is a prostitute. These are kids who aren't tempted, say, to cheat on a test or speed a little: they are drawn to rob, kill and express themselves in violence. Burke lets them find acceptance for their way of life, too.


Malcolm Boyd also saw hope outside the Church for religious expression. He went to conferences, freedom marches, bars and night clubs, anywhere that people went with their loneliness, fears and uptightnesses.

This is why I like the night club bit.  
In a parish church you seldom can  
guess what's behind the pious masks  
people wear. Here the masks are off.

Boyd's prayers range from prayers about racial freedom to meditations about films to prayers dealing with sex.

This is a homosexual bar, Jesus . . .  
This isn't very much like a church,  
Lord, but many members of the church  
are also here in this bar. Quite a few of  
the men here belong to the Church as  
well as to this bar. If they knew how,

(continued on page 11)




## Paperbounds on your reading list?

**Are You Running With Me, Jesus** By Malcolm Boyd  
Paperback . . . . . 75c

Malcolm Boyd's book of uncommon prayer has become a 100,000 copy national bestseller. Why? This is pop prayer, prayer in the row, with the last varnish gone—human life, in all its warmth and lovelessness, laid bare before God. This book has become a much discussed bestseller and seems certain to become a classic of modern religious expression.

**THE 10 BEST-SELLING PAPERBACKS**

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3. Waiting for Winter	8. Hell's Angels
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## MOVIES



# Illusion dominates movie concept

By STUART ROSENTHAL

We live in an age of illusion. This is a fact which, in light of all of the machines and conveniences which maintain us in our comfortable and complacent existences, can be stated unequivocally.

In addition, one cannot deny that the basic qualities of the human mental process, coupled with momentous technology and advanced communications media, have made it increasingly difficult for the individual to distinguish between that which has its basis in reality and that which is merely a level of fantasy. Nor do we tend to probe behind these mere appearances for the hidden truths and experiences which they conceal, but are content to accept the initial image that we perceive as being the whole.

The inability to distinguish and to see beyond the surface has served as a central concept for two of the most controversial motion pictures of the past year—Michaelangelo Antonioni's "Blow-Up" and Arthur Penn's "Bonnie and Clyde."

The reality-illusion problem is the axis and dominating theme of the Antonioni film and, as such, is very much in evidence.

"Bonnie and Clyde", on the other hand, is considerably more complex and requires a bit of analysis to uncover this idea as one of the picture's many facets.

The easiest place to start is with the one element which is ostensibly common to both movies—the camera.

Antonioni presents us with David Hemmings as a London photographer who has virtually become wedded to the instrument of this trade. As the director shows us the world through the eyes of the photog, it becomes clearer by degrees that his view of his environment is drastically removed from actuality.

Colors are heightened in intensity and contrasts accentuated. Activity, from a pacifist demonstration to the groaning of derelicts in a slum area is trans-

piring about him—yet he remains passive, taking it all in but without reacting or coloring his thoughts through either opinion or commitment. He and his camera are one and the same.

In "Bonnie and Clyde" the camera is cinematically alluded to on at least three different occasions, beginning with the opening titles during which faded snapshots are flashed on the screen, as an unseen shutter clicks. By the time the audience is ready for its first glimpse of Faye Dunaway gazing into a mirror, it has been exposed to a capsule summary of the backgrounds of the title characters—a collective 45 years or so have been relegated to the leaf of some musty album, yet these snapshots represent the only remaining remnants of those days.

The next time we see the camera, it is a real Kodak being used by our anti-heroes to permanently capture their antics on film. As Bonnie clowns with her sub-gun and cigar and Clyde and brother Buck pose in pompous self assured style, they are caught up in their own before-the-lens pretensions.

For all their laughing, they have come to see themselves as the camera is recording them—knights and gladiators, all powerful and perfectly righteous. With the camera-play the hard nature of their position as fugitives is forgotten.

The use of the Kodak in the semi-comic conspiracy to frame Ranger Frank Hamer is another example of the use of the instrument to distort reality. It does not have as direct a bearing on the question at hand, but is a reinforcement of what has gone before—they are so involved with the outward appearance that they immediately recognize it as a way to deal with the bounty-hunting ranger.

In this involvement with the protagonists' images of themselves lies one of many justifications for the dramatic license taken with history in this depiction of the lives of vicious hoodlums. No attempt is being made to present a documentary style re-

gurgitation of fact: rather, we are permitted to view the Barrow gang as they might have conceived of themselves.

It is more than, than coincidental that Thomas, the photographer, Clyde Barrow and Bonnie Parker are all victims of some form of sexual frustration. The sequence in which Antonioni's hero is seen arousing Verushka as he attempts to raise the proper tone for his snaps, and then disinterestedly abandons her, is indicative of general unimpassioned tenor of the man. The wrestling bout with his two teenage admirers and the episode in which he baits Vanessa Redgrave are further examples of his confusion along these lines. It is a simple matter to relate these attitudes to the Yardbirds scene in which he fights viciously for a broken guitar, only to discard it upon achieving the object.

Clyde Barrow's seeming impotence, however, cannot be dismissed as stemming merely from a lack of commitment. Significantly, he realizes his virility following his first encounter with real feeling—with pain. Violence, to him, has become real and far removed from the glamorous depictions of the newspapers and motion pictures of the day.

In Bonnie's case, however, we are led to believe that the difficulty in distinguishing the object from its image is almost congenital. Despite the harrowing experience of being critically wounded by a police posse, upon recovery she continues to compose her romantic poetry and to be fascinated by items such as the ceramic angel which, she notes, is "almost real," even down to its tiny fingernails.

The difference in their perceptions is apparent in the manner of their deaths. In the ambush scene, Clyde meets his demise in slow motion. However bloody this release may be, he looks infinitely more peaceful than Bonnie, whose bullet riddled body jerks and flops with the bullet's staccato. Once again, she is

(continued on page 10)



# U.S. intervention in Vietnam

(continued from page 5)

ganization of the South Vietnamese army. This was clearly a violation of the spirit if not the letter of the Geneva agreements. At the time, this development attracted very little attention in the American press. Gen. O'Daniel then had only "a handful of officers and men" whose total strength was expected to reach about 300. Nevertheless, this was to be a portentous step. It was in reality the fateful beginning of an entangling military commitment to the Saigon regime, and was to be followed by a succession of "inevitable" steps that would ultimately lead to more than half a million American military men fighting, killing and being killed on Vietnamese soil, some ten thousand miles from home.

By 1960 the Diem regime, although seemingly secure because of its huge army and large police force, had far less popular support than it had had five years previously, and even then it did not really have very much among the vast disadvantaged majority of the population. By 1960 most of the peasantry and almost all of the intelligentsia, for varying reasons, had become completely alienated from the regime. The corruption and nepotism of the Diem regime was scandalous. Its oppression had long previously gone beyond limits of human endurance. Yet even the non-Communist opposition had no way of expressing its discontent politically or otherwise. The jails were overcrowded with dissenters as well as "enemies." Many intellectuals fled the country, and the Vietnamese community in France by and large became a hotbed of strong anti-Diem feeling. In the jungles, forests and rice paddies, South Vietnamese guerrilla units were waging a ceaseless and increasingly successful war against the regime, and their ranks were steadily expanding with full and part-time fighters, mostly from the peasantry. Their weapons were largely bamboo spears, home-made contrivances, and equipment captured from Diem's dispirited troops or abandoned by them.

It was in 1960 that the South Vietnamese resistance movement became really organized. In March of that year the "Nam-bo Veterans of the Resistance Association," made up of South Vietnamese who had fought against France, published a long declaration which assailed the Diem "reign of terror" and accused the regime of having "driven the people of South Vietnam to take up arms in self-defense." The declaration called on the people of South Vietnam to intensify their struggle, and stated that the objectives of the resistance were "to put an end to the Fascist dictatorship of the Ngo family" and to "set up a democratic government of National Union in South Vietnam." This National Union would seek "to realize national independence and democratic liberties and to guarantee a decent life to the people."

On December 20, 1960, resistance elements organized somewhere in Cochinchina a "National Liberation Front of South Vietnam" (NLFSV). This organization, disparagingly called the "Viet Cong" by most Americans, now became the principal political grouping in South Vietnam. Within two years the NLFSV built up a strong organization at provincial and village levels and effectively governed areas it controlled. Its power swelled with active guerrilla fighters and with masses of peasant supporters and sympathizers. As its active adherents increased, the proportion of its non-Communists increased.

The NLFSV was actually a broad coalition of many elements—religious, ethnic and political. Its program did not propose class warfare, but general reforms having a broad appeal. It called for the progressive reunification of the country by peaceful means on the basis of negotiations between the North and the South. A Manifesto issued by the NLFSV declared that "the 1954 Geneva agreements restored peace in our country and recognized the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam." The Manifesto in effect declared war against U.S. involvement in Vietnamese affairs by stating that "the American imperialists, who had in the past helped the French colonialists massacre our people, have now replaced the French in enslaving the southern part of our country through a disguised colonial regime." It detailed a long series of crimes and atrocities



committed by the Saigon regime. A ten-point program was advanced, which was intended to appeal to diverse elements motivated primarily by the common interest of freeing the country from foreign domination establishing "democratic liberties" and bringing about the normalization of relations between the North and the South. It specifically called for the overthrow of the "disguised colonial regime of the U.S. imperialists," the equality of all the nationalities and both sexes, a foreign policy of peace and neutrality, and normal relations between the North and the South as a prelude to eventual reunification. In 1961, Nguyen Huu Tho, a non-Communist and noted civil liberties lawyer of the French colonial period, became the head of the NLFSV.

By the latter part of 1960, then, the armed resistance against the Diem regime, which had existed for several years on a local and regional basis, was organized on a "national" (all of South Vietnam) basis. The formation of the NLFSV was in reality an indication that the resistance had advanced to truly formidable proportions. Yet in October, only a month prior to the formation of the NLFSV, Vice-President Nixon had declared, in flagrant disregard of what was actually happening: "As far as Indochina was concerned . . . as a result of our taking the strong stand we did, the civil war there was ended, and today we have a strong free bastion there." This was the kind of wishful thinking that was to become habitual in U.S. officialdom with reference to the struggle in Vietnam.

Ho Chi Minh had apparently tried to refrain as long as possible from direct North Vietnamese involvement in the civil war raging in the South. North Vietnamese assistance to the resistance forces in the South was probably not initiated until after March 1960, and no doubt was in response to persistent appeals from the southern leaders of the resistance. The assistance, on a very limited scale, probably for some time consisted only of small amounts of ammunition, communications and planning. North Vietnam had its own agents in the South, but the NLFSV was fundamentally autonomous and made up exclusively of South Vietnamese. That Ho Chi Minh, though a northerner, was a heroic symbol of Vietnamese nationalism to the NLFSV cannot be doubted. Fighting against a despotic foe who was extravagantly supplied with money and materiel by an alien white nation—the wealthiest and mightiest in the world—it should be perfectly understandable why the NLFSV should have sought and welcomed assistance from the North Vietnamese, who were after all fellow Vietnamese nationals.

Meanwhile, in addition to all the difficulties he was having with the resistance movement and various dissident elements in Saigon, Diem was encountering increasing defiance from the Buddhists, who comprised about 70 per cent of the South Vietnamese population. The Buddhist problem first came into the open on May 8, 1963, when Diem troops fired into a crowd of Buddhist demonstrators in Hue and killed nine people. Demonstrations then broke out in Saigon and thereafter became frequent occurrences. The main complaint of the Buddhists was that the Diem regime was discriminating against them and favoring the small Catholic minority. In mid-July an elderly Buddhist

monk publicly burnt himself to death as a dramatic expression of the Buddhist struggle. Other immolations followed, and the Buddhist crisis became more acute.

With the Buddhist crisis steadily worsening, with the war against the Resistance movement going badly, with U.S. support for Diem turning colder by the day, and with staff officers plotting and maneuvering, the situation in Saigon became explosive. On November 1, 1963, the tyrant Diem came to a bloody end. On that day a third, and successful, attempt to depose Diem was made by military officers headed by Gen. Duong Van Minh, who was "highly regarded" by U.S. circles. The generals may very well have been moved to act as they did as a result of the United States "quietly" suspending the economic aid program.

This was a "signal," clearly understood by the generals, that Diem was no longer the anointed one of Washington. During the coup there was some sharp fighting and some bloodshed, and both Ngo Dinh Diem and his brother Ngo Dinh Nhu were assassinated. Nhu had been Diem's closest adviser and head of the secret police. Another influential brother, Ngo Dinh Can, was also seized and executed. Still another brother, Ngo Dinh Thu, the Catholic archbishop of Hue, though unharmed, left the country. Madame Nhu, Diem's sister-in-law, and her children were in America at the time and later went into exile in Europe.

Thousands of political prisoners, including Buddhist leaders, were promptly released from the jails, which had been overfilled since 1954. The military junta then announced a caretaker government, but actual power remained in its hands. As a matter of fact, actual power has ever since remained in the hands of the military.

In view of the undeniable illegal nature of the change of government, the American recognition of the new government on November 7 must be regarded as a speedy one. Secretary Rusk expressed the hope that "the political and military leadership that has formed a new government there in Vietnam will be able to rally the country, consolidate the effort, and get on with the job, so that the country can be free and secure." He also finally admitted, because white had now become black in Washington, that "the principal problem that developed with respect to the previous regime was the alienation of apparently very large sections of the population." However, the fact was that these "apparently very large sections of the population" continued to be alienated even under the new militarily controlled regime.

The successful coup and assassination of Diem took place after Secretary of Defense McNamara and Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, had returned to Washington from an urgent visit to Saigon. Strong suspicions of U.S. involvement in the coup arose in many quarters throughout the world. The U.S. Government issued firm denials of any implication, and the CIA maintained its customary cloak-and-dagger silence. Madame Nhu, who had been the darling of the ultraconservatives in America, bitterly denounced the U.S. Government. "No one can seriously believe in the disclaimer" that the American Government had nothing to do with the military revolt, she sobbed to reporters in California. In the next few days the new Saigon regime and the American press spoke at great length about the unbearable brutalities and excesses of the defunct Diem regime. Up to that time, however, the American press, with minor exceptions, had been docilely faithful to the Washington line that Diem, while stern, was at heart a democrat and the builder of a bastion of the "free world." Whether or not the United States was implicated in the coup, it was certainly clear that Washington was relieved and pleased, for it had come to regard Diem as a failure and a bad gamble. Among other things, also, Diem had seemed to have become tired of U.S. domination and of the seemingly endless civil war. There is moreover evidence of his courting discussions with Ho Chi Minh. History will no doubt have much more to say of Diem's last year in power that will be revealing to most Americans.



## POETRY

## Walls

Child lies alone,  
her softness hushed behind her gown;  
is not asleep.  
Smooth walls hold her comfortless.  
Outside them, sleeping shapes  
surround her, but nothing moves;  
No goodnight kiss.

(The child is not a child  
since uninvited life  
drained all her childhood to itself)

Her parents' confident reflection  
on themselves, she stirred behind their glass, unseen,  
and fading from their emptiness' embrace  
knew love, a different kind

(and reappearing  
in her room, precariously safe  
with her unnoticeable change  
she dreamed elusively of moving, touching love)

but now because of which she lies,  
trapped in an accident,  
deciding how to kill this thing,  
this evidence of sin within herself;  
this unformed child;  
this growing proof of incongruity.

No one must seek,  
or the splintered mirror-walls,  
shattering, will impale them all  
more twisted, dying  
on the shreds of what they thought they knew.

Harry, with the room full  
of pond water and lily pads,  
knelt unblinking on the carpet,  
and ripple-lifted, buoyed,  
only said "Oh, maybe frogs  
are havin' fun,  
lookin' out over the top of the water . . ."

If they know I am writing,  
They all stiffen  
Almost less than noticeably,  
As though they were being  
Photographed.  
Anxious to be well represented;  
Curious;  
Tinted about the eyes  
With resentment they hardly recognize,  
They watch me.

Dead, his head wrapped in a kleenex  
for a shroud;  
more neither needed nor allowed  
like some used piece of gum  
grey--wrinkled--furrowed. (Some  
made comment that he'd  
done up well, but they were guessing,  
could not see to tell.)  
And when the prayers were read  
they all were done,  
no doubt.  
They threw him out.

## Even Guinea Pigs have to Rest

Helen bent four elbows  
and set her stomach in my lap Plump.  
filling her  
symmetrical, in a circle  
foot foot foot foot  
with its center. Fat.

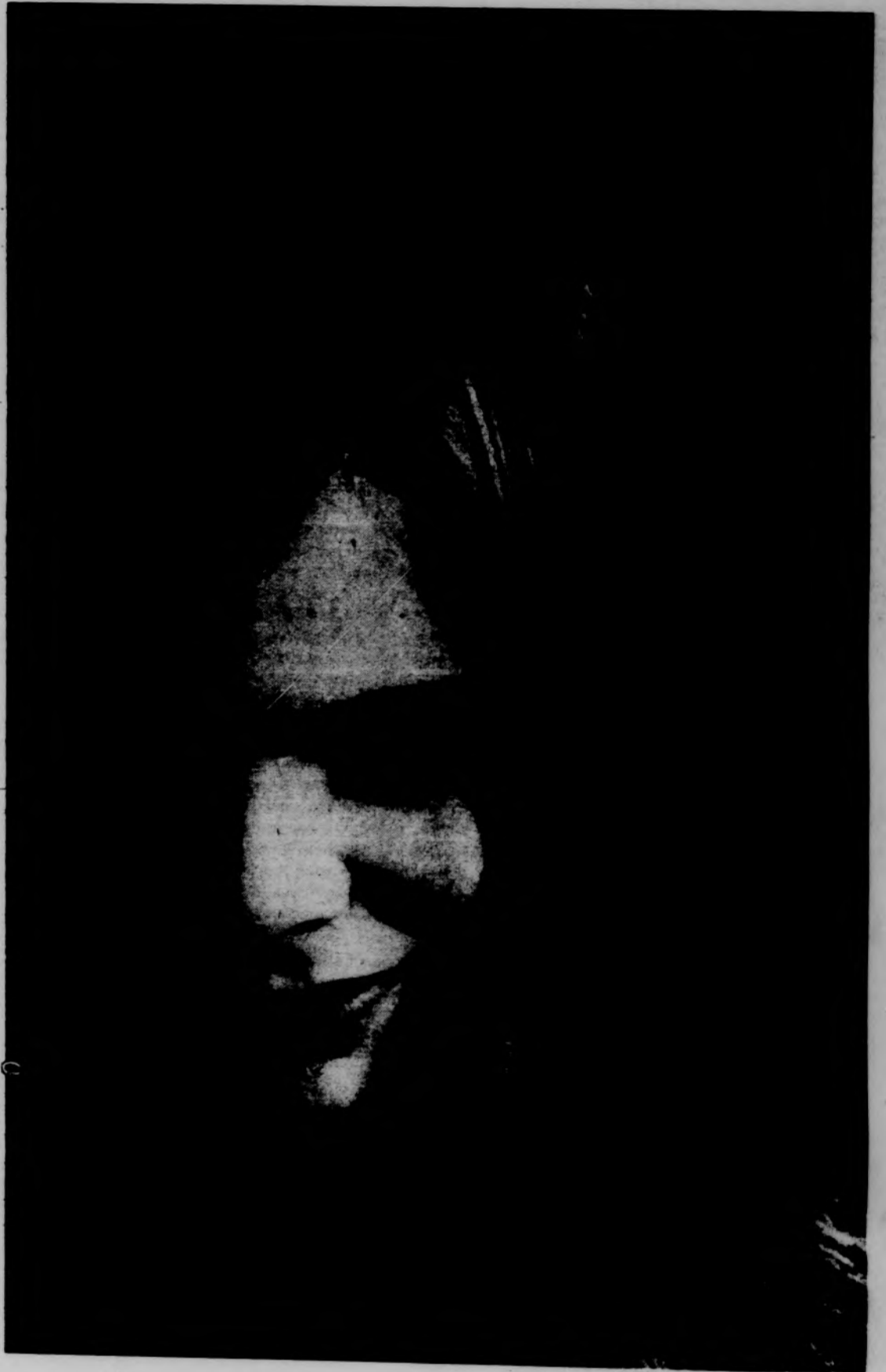


Photo by Mike Schoenhofen

## Danny

Innocent of preface his arms  
gathered me lost among the blankets  
to him

unfolding just from sleep.  
I felt a child's inarticulate relief  
who cried wordless too

until guided softly home  
it could neither shape a name  
nor begin to seek alone;

and brought to there only stood  
in joy all speechless  
where the thing for which it wept began.

So, found, embraced, contained  
and reassured, I saw  
the end of silence shape into a smile.

Editors of Collage became acquainted with the  
work of Carolyn James, Clarksburg, West  
Virginia senior, through her participation in a  
creative writing class. Previously unpublished,  
her writing has extended intermittently over  
a long period of time. She hopes to go into  
special education.



# Students' varied publications

By JEFF JUSTIN

Campus oldtimers will remember "Logos," the world-changing publication of the Committee for Student Rights, and the controversy that surrounded its distribution. This broadside way typical of student publications in that it splashed into the campus scene, made some waves for awhile, its ripples soon dying away as the publishers were graduated, in one form or another.

The idea of students getting together to publish their ideas persists, however. "The Paper" began to amaze people after the decline of "Logos". Soon after, "Zeitgeist" began tilting with the sometimes truly menacing windmills of middle-class morality. "The Red Cedar Review" completes the list of current student publications known to the majority of students.

But how many of you read "The Magic Bagel," "The Cosmic Cruller," "The Spartan Engineer," "The Journal of Hokey Results"? These publications have lacked the publicity of those mentioned above, yet have their own valid claims for student attention.

"The Journal of Hokey Results," published by two psychology grad students, is representative of a genre this campus has not enjoyed in the recent past: the satirical magazine. Louis Penner, one of the editors, explained that the original intention of offering students an opportunity for publishing serious articles in psychology, in addition to humorous ones, has been abandoned.

"The response to the humor format has been tremendous in the psych department," he said. "Since summer we've received about 30 articles. We didn't publish fall term because we're Ph.D. candidates and just didn't have the time to organize everything."

On the basis of the summer issues it's too bad the campus has had to wait so long. In addition to digs at the world at large (such as the analysis of Batman's homosexual tendencies in the first issue), articles poke fun at the complicated jargon and esoteric methods of contemporary psychological research.

The University long needed a satirical publication. "The Paper" used to make some effective attempts in this area, but lately the serious business of fostering the revolution seems to have drained this weekly of its humor. I find the "Journal of Hokey Results" engaging and stimulating. Its appeal ought to extend far beyond the "hard luck guys in psychology" to whom it is dedicated. Copies of the spring issue will be available at the psychology department office in Olds Hall.

A group of publications emanating from a coterie of students in East Campus also have a wide appeal. "The Magic Bagel" and "The Cosmic Cruller," published fall term, are examples of "fanzines," science fiction magazines put out by amateur devotees of this genre. According to Tracie Brown, publisher

and editor, "This kind of publishing has been going on for some 50 years, since about five years after the first science fiction."

The Tolkien Society of America, she said, has some 1,000 members. Named after the author of the famous fantasy trilogy about the world of the hobbits, the society boasts about 20 members in the Tolkien Fellowship on this campus. Miss Brown also edits a newsletter for members, who are the primary source of stories for her magazines.

The fanzines can only be fully appreciated by the "fan," a dedicated science fiction enthusiast. References are often made to science fiction authors and their works. For example, the cover of "The Magic Bagel" is written in elvish script, the language of the hobbits.

Yet there is much enjoyment for the uninitiated. The most prolific writer and perhaps the most respected of the student fans is Don D'Amassa. A senior from Cumberland, R.I., D'Amassa has been writing and publishing fanzines for several years. He mixes philosophy with his fantasy, but it's hard to tell in what amount. Such writing adds levels of allegory to one-story language and constitutes much of the pleasure of reading science fiction. Copies of the spring issues of "The Cosmic Cruller" and "The Magic Bagel" will be available directly from Tracie Brown.

Along more technical lines, student publication such as "Intercom" from the school of social work, "The MSU Veterinarian" and "The Spartan Engineer" are directed to students in particular disciplines. The editor of "The Spartan Engineer," Gary Romans, has an interesting philosophy.

"Our magazine doesn't have to be a student-run 'Scientific American,'" he told me. "At conventions with other editors I've learned that the technical stuff just isn't read. Faculties at other schools want to have something they can exhibit as an example of student research, and so there's a lot of censorship involved. But at MSU we're free to do what we want. We're concerned with humor and the philosophy of being an engineer. The last issue, for example, was on the feminine viewpoint toward engineers: the next one will be on the draft."

"Response has been really good. Last year the magazine was in the black, supported mainly by ads. We can't really estimate the effect of the magazine, but just looking around the Engineering Building, the image of the engineer is changing. He's broadening his interests."

Broadening every student's view of his world is the objective of a political publication, "Catch 23," which recently debuted. It is published by the Research and Education Committee of MSU Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

"It's to make people see the catches," said Jack Sattel, head of the committee. "We're

not trying to stimulate debate. We're just giving people the other viewpoint, the one they wouldn't get otherwise."

The title "Catch 23" is based on Joseph Heller's hilarious and horrifying novel, "Catch 22," in which a World War II bombardier wakes terrified to the fact that there are people trying to kill him. Catch 22 itself is never defined. It's some clause or procedure "they" can use as an ultimate justification for human atrocities the bureaucracy commits in the interest of humanity.

This irrationality, producing humor and horror in one strike, was evident also in the subject of SDS's first broadside--the concept of "channeling" manpower for the country's best interest (as this is defined by the administration). Future publications will be bi-weekly and deal with whatever issues are at hand. Free distribution will take place around campus. SDS is unrelated to "The Paper".

In the past the local organization has confined itself to reprinting articles. "Catch 23" is the first SDS publication originating in East Lansing.

On the more conservative political scene, the "College Republican Newsletter" offers students a more delicately stated expression of many of the same anti-administration views. The campus Democrats have nothing to say, at least on paper.

Overall, it seems that spring term will see a sudden rise of publishing activity. Another "Red Cedar Review" is planned. "Phrog," North Wonders Hall's literary magazine, will pop onto the campus lily pad. All the publications mentioned above will appear, along with the more impressively academic "Honors College Essays." In such increased activity there is a quickening of the life-blood of the University. And after all is said, the force of it may be most deeply felt by the student authors themselves--the satisfaction of seeing their own hard thoughts in print.

## Illusion in films

(continued from page 7)

experiencing pain and reacting as a rabbit bred for slaughter might respond in his innocence to the moment of decapitation.

Bonnie and Clyde have, each to a separate degree, paid the price for having lived too long out of touch with actuality. When we last glimpse Thomas, he has become even more hopelessly entwined in his dilemma, yet still seems fit enough to carry on as he has throughout the film.

This is where "Blow-Up" fails its audience. Instead of pointing toward a conclusion or making a statement about its protagonist's condition, Antonioni has spent nearly two hours sketching a caricature of a man with only one salient quality. It is an oversimplification, done heavy-handedly and producing a viewer reaction to the effect of "so what."

Those who leave the theater deeply impressed by the film have been duped by the same phenomenon about which the director is claiming to warn us. The drawing of an outline, using interesting technique coupled with implied symbolic acts does not necessarily indicate analysis or pertinence.

Those responsible for "Bonnie and Clyde," on the other hand, have incorporated the reality differentiation syndrome as part of the overall makeup of two complicated and convincing characters, to whom the theatergoer develops a strong attachment. Thus, the point is made on a very personal and meaningful level.

### COLLAGE

Executive Editor . . . . . Eric Pianin  
Contributors: Lawrence Battistini,  
Sue Brown, David Gilbert, Carolyn  
James, Jeff Justin, Jim Roos,  
Stuart Rosenthal, Jim Yousling,  
Doug Huston.





## ART

# Whistler exhibits his mastery

By JIM ROOS

A few years ago, while spending an afternoon at London's Tate Gallery, I came across a weird painting depicting fireworks at night. It was a pyrotechnical display in more ways than one, for the artist had brilliantly captured the momentary, meteoric essence of the scene.

The mind of a wizard who carefully had planned the carelessness on his canvas was evident in each bold streak of color dashed against the black night. Reds, oranges, greens, white, shades of royal purples and yellow tints. All these pigments, and more, seemed to explode and scream across the darkness like the shrieks of bewildered banshees.

At first I thought the work to be Turner's. Who else, with those few wild brush strokes that constitute genius, could create the luminosity usually impossible to achieve with oils?

Closer inspection of the nameplate, however, revealed this painting to be the work of James McNeil Whistler. From that moment on, my previous conception of Whistler as a musty Victorian master disintegrated, and I was determined to be on the look out for any Whistler exhibition that might come my way.

Last week-end in Chicago such an exhibit finally did appear. Sponsored by the Chicago Art Institute and the Munson-Williams Proctor Institute in Utica, New York, it is a fascinating, if somewhat limited collection of Whistler's output.

I say "limited" because many of the artist's greatest paintings (e.g. "The Artist's Mother" or "Thomas Carlyle") are not included due to special prohibitions against lending in institutions where major Whistler works are to be found.

Nevertheless, the works on display at the Chicago exhibit are sufficiently diversified and copious to attract art lovers for miles around. As for variety, there are not merely oils, but oodles of doodles, etchings, drawings, lithographs, pastels and watercolors.

Some people express dissatisfaction with the somber appearance of Whistler's oil paintings. The simple truth is, that even in their lightest moments, Whistler's oil paintings are dark.

However, Whistler's preoccupation with darkness, as in his nocturne "Fireworks," is aimed at creating a subtle expression of form and line.

(We all know that the outlines of any figure can ultimately be grasped, even if at first they are only partially disclosed.)

To be sure, there are few barometers of taste, especially in paintings, but I would venture to say that any one who admires works of Edgar Allen Poe or perhaps Claude Debussy will find an affinity for the paintings of Whistler.

Whistler himself was a great admirer of Poe. He was also a good friend of Debussy, and like the great French musician was influenced by Oriental art. Both men had a fondness for Chinese and Japanese scroll and brush paintings. They often bought Oriental screens, fans and porcelains.

If one of Debussy's finest piano pieces, "Poisson d'or" ("Goldfish") was inspired by the painting on a Japanese porcelain, many of the effects in Whistler's paintings and etchings are products of similar influence.

For example, of such influence one can note the butterfly monogram in the portrait "Harmony in Grey and Green" or the delicate, sparing use of oils in "The Artist and His Studio."

The latter work is especially noteworthy because of the artist's interesting use of oils. In order to achieve a transparent, spidery effect for the loose Oriental robes of the two women he has portrayed, Whistler made use of an obviously wide, but thin haired brush, in the tradition of Japanese water brush paintings.

As a result, the robes possess an airiness and fragility that adds immeasurably to an otherwise muddy green backdrop. The artist appears here in self-portrait looking very much like the arrogant rascal he is reputed to have been. Whistler added another Oriental touch to this painting by glazing it to the texture of a Japanese porcelain plaque.

That Whistler was constantly playing with textures and tonal moods can also be seen in the numerous etchings in which he caught



"The Artist in His Studio"

the atmosphere of the river front, the boats, the bridges, and the people associated with river life.

Although the subjects are consistently similar, Whistler exploited the variations of the medium to satisfy his experimental nature. At one point the style is clear and clean-cut: a full black proof. Then there is use of drypoint technique to give a cool, silvery effect suggestive of pastel. Perhaps the only technique Whistler avoided was "retroussage" (dragging a cloth across the plate to pull ink from the grooves) which gives a rich artificially induced effect. Richness, whether it be daubed in thick ink or bright colors, is not a Whistler trademark.

Like many great artists Whistler had his

faults. Some think the darkness of his colors work against him, though I do not. Perhaps he had some difficulty in drawing hands (quite evident in the large painting of violinist Pablo de Sarasate).

But, taken as a whole, Whistler's work reveals him as a great experimenter and imaginative artist. A man who loved to use old papers to achieve antique effects: who could paint a portrait in the style of Velasquez (whom he admired greatly): who could evoke the hazy Thames at night, or temporarily abandon perspective for the Japanese concept of space as a well-balanced design. Any way you look at this stimulating exhibit it demonstrates the innovative brilliance and genius of Whistler the master.

## Handling religion

(continued from page 6)

a number of them would ask you to be with them in both places. Some of them wouldn't, but won't you be with them, too, Jesus?

People do think about themselves. The title, *Are You Running With Me, Jesus?*, is a frank admission by Boyd that he has a high opinion of himself, but that he can't make it alone. There is no hypocritical piety about him, the kind of churchly faith that Boyd once described, "I couldn't see out of the stained-glass windows."

At any rate, both Boyd and Burke have taken the critical approach of Smith a step further,

and in admitting the ineffectiveness of the Church in the truly Christian life, have gone out to the streets, where Jesus put it originally. They have to get at people where they can be reached: not in a Sunday church, but in jails and bars, slums and T.V. stations, camps and cars, and perhaps most important, to get to those who are open to be reached--the young.

Lord, I don't know all the big words the preacher sez. I ain't much at talkin' to people and tell them what I'm thinkin', but I'm in a mess now and need to know how to talk to you, I hope you will learn me how.

Perhaps it isn't God who is dead. Maybe it's only the churches.



# Church-state controversy

(continued from page 3)

"Competition with existing public school systems offers a promising means of improving both public and private education. If all parents, at every income level could choose between sending their children to public schools and sending their children to approved private schools at public expense, both public and private education would improve as schools attempted to hold pupils," the Task Force report said.

A panel of attorneys for the CEF studied the constitutional question raised by the bill and reached the opinion that the bill did not violate either the United States or the Michigan Constitutions.

The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution provides, in part, that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The mandate of the First Amendment is made applicable to the states by the Fourteenth Amendment.

To determine the bill's constitutionality under the First Amendment the CEF panel of attorneys applied the test laid down by the United States Supreme Court in *School District of Abington Township, Pennsylvania v. Schempp*.

"The test may be stated as follows: what are the purpose and the primary effect of the law. If either is the advancement or the inhibition of religion then the law exceeds the scope of legislative power as circumscribed by the Constitution. That is to say that to withstand the strictures of the Establishment Clause there must be a secular purpose and a primary effect that neither advances or inhibits religion."

The bill provides that state educational grants shall be paid to parents enrolling their children in nonpublic schools to defray part of the cost of their secular education, the panel said. The bill enumerates the clearly secular courses in which the children must be enrolled in order for their parents to receive the grant. Moreover, the panel said, none of the grants may be used for any courses in religious doctrine or worship. In addition the bill seeks to assist parents to comply with the compulsory education laws of this state. Therefore, the panel concludes, the purposes of the bill are secular.

It is also clear, the panel said, that the primary effect of the bill neither advances nor inhibits religion. "Since none of the educational grants can be used for courses in religion or religious worship, it must be concluded that advancement of religion, if any, is incidental should parents receiving educational grants under the bill educate their children in church connected nonpublic schools," they concluded.

William J. Blackburn, assistant superintendent of elementary schools for the diocese of Lansing, said that Michigan has led the way in this type of legislation. He made reference to the Fair School Bus Law passed by the Michigan Legislature in 1963, providing equal bus transportation for all children regardless of where they attend school, and the Auxiliary Service Bill passed in 1966 which provides equal participation by all schools in such services as remedial reading, visiting teachers and speech correction. He further mentioned the College Tuition Grant Law which enables college students to receive up to \$800 for attendance at the Michigan college of their choice, public or nonpublic.

Blackburn said that the diocese schools are financed and operated by the parishes. From 60 to 80 per cent of the Sunday collection goes to the schools, he said. In addition, tuition which is from \$50 to \$75 per family for elementary schools, makes up about one-third of the operating costs, he said.

Blackburn said that because of the rising cost of operating the schools, some have been forced to reduce the number of grades in their schools. Nonpublic schools are facing a financial crisis and are reaching the breaking point, he said. State aid to the parents of nonpublic school children is "the only logically and financially feasible way for Michigan to meet its educational problems tomorrow," he said.



STANLEY HECKER



WILLIAM BLACKBURN

"We of the administration have no fear concerning government control. We have just about as many controls now as the public schools have," Blackburn said. Both public and nonpublic schools comply with rules governing specified courses of study, certification of teachers, annual number of school days and length of school day, fire, safety, and sanitation standards, plans of new school structures and extra-curricular activities, he said.

Blackburn said that government control has not proven harmful in certain countries in Europe and in Canada where nonpublic schools receive government aid. "Reports say that this has strengthened both public and parochial schools by introducing the element of competition."

"I am concerned with public education's financial straits also. We need fiscal reform in general," Blackburn said.

Among the groups opposing the bill is the Michigan Congress of Parents and Teachers. A. B. Haist, president of the Michigan PTA, urged the 2,000 local PTA units to join in a campaign to fight the bill.

"The effect of such legislation, if allowed to pass," Haist said, "would threaten the ultimate emasculation of public education. This we cannot allow. We cannot sit back in silence. We cannot allow our constitution to be violated by this kind of legislation, promoted by private, special interest groups," Haist said.

The allocation of \$21 million to nonpublic schools would be taking it away from the public schools at a time "when more and more of our public schools are faced with the prospect of closing their doors because of a lack of funds with which to operate," he said.

"Isn't it amazing that suddenly our legislators seem to have found \$21 million in our state coffers for nonpublic schools while these same legislators have been loudly proclaiming that additional moneys were absolutely non-existent to help public schools?" Haist said.

Two other opposing organizations, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the Committee to Aid Public Education (CAPE), have mentioned court action, if the bill is passed.

The ACLU is currently involved in a suit concerning the separation of church and state and the Auxiliary Service Bill.

Mrs. Harriett Phillips, the chairman of CAPE, said the organization's main opposition to the bill is that they feel that it is unconstitutional.

Some proponents of the bill refer to its similarities with the G. I. Bill of Rights, which grants veterans tuition from the federal

government which they may use at the college of their choice, whether public or nonpublic. A comparison between the bill to grant state aid to the parents of children in nonpublic schools and the G.I. Bill is a comparison of things which are dissimilar, Mrs. Phillips said. The G.I. Bill is based on the concept of a service rendered she said. "Separation of church and state is not involved in the G.I. Bill," Mrs. Phillips said.

"Freedom of choice given by the government doesn't include an obligation of the government to pay for it," Mrs. Phillips said.

CAPE is engaged in a contact campaign with representatives in Lansing, Mrs. Phillips said. CAPE membership are urged to contact their own legislators personally and then by mail if necessary.

Another organization opposing the bill, Spend Taxes on Public Schools (STOPS), was formed last week with the purpose of working for defeat of the bill and against the re-election of any legislator who votes for the measure. STOPS claims to represent some two million taxpayers in Michigan.

Stanley E. Hecker, MSU professor of higher education, said he is concerned with the possible effect the passage of the bill might have on the public schools. He said he fears that the school system may become religiously, economically and racially segregated and that separatism will result.

Leroy G. Augenstein, chairman of the MSU dept. of biophysics and member of the State Board of Education, said he thinks the courts would declare the bill unconstitutional if it passes.

He bases his opinion on Supreme Court decisions of three states, he said. The Louisiana Supreme Court threw out a voucher system; the Supreme Court of New Hampshire rejected a lottery; and the Maryland Supreme Court rejected a bid to give funds to parochial school pupils with no strings attached, Augenstein said. "These decisions are pretty clear-cut, and we're going to run afoul of these if the bill is passed."

After the bill was introduced in the House and Senate it was sent to the Senate committee on education and elections headed by Sen. Anthony Stamm, R-Kalamazoo. Stamm asked Atty. Gen. Frank Kelley to rule on the constitutionality of the bill. Stamm told Kelley he is "anxious for a ruling" so the legislative process may proceed in an orderly and expeditious manner.

Already, more than 6,000 letters supporting the measure have poured into the offices of Gov. Romney and legislative leaders in the past three weeks. Thousands more letters are expected from those in opposition to the proposal.